412 The Telamni wooden mortar was described by
322 B.O., a Waksachi informant, during his discussion of trade (see Pt. II). The mortar was made from the crotch of an oak tree which, being of mixed grains at this point, was very hard. It was burned down to a rough size, then burned at the heart and the charcoal scraped and chopped out. This treatment was given inside and out until the desired size was reached.
[438] A slender pestle of stone was used with it. These mortars the Telamni sold to the lake-dwellers, Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol, preferring for themselves stone mortars of both large and small sizes which they also bought from the Waksachi or intervening Wukchumni.

Pottery

● 323 Pottery was not made by the lake tribes.[46] Even a knowledge of it in old times was denied by M.G., while J.A. said she had seen it made by Wukchumni women (M.P. and daughters) but did not remember how. My demonstration of the motor actions of making a "rope" of clay merely elicited a description of firemaking. Red clay
[134] was sometimes shaped with the fingers into
757 little dishes (ṭipe´kʌl ki´wʌs). It was chiefly valued as a medicament smeared on the chest.
[438] A reliable Wukchumni informant (M.L.) said that pottery was traded to the lake people.

Basketry

285 No detailed description of basketmaking
438 techniques was obtained from the Chunut and Tachi informants, but both had important statements concerning forms and materials. This aged Tachi informant (M.G.) repeatedly affirmed that the lake people did not make coiled baskets in old times, that the coiled pieces were obtained by trade. The Wechihit and Choinok had coiled wares, she believed, but the foothill people, Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yaudanchi were the ultimate source for lake trade. In exchange, the handsome tule mats from the lake were prized in the foothills. The Tachi, Wowol, and others dwelling in the tular used a twined technique exclusively on tule and willow materials. There is little remaining evidence of the tule wares, as they are perishable in texture and not attractive as museum pieces.

285 In the collections of the University of California are a few pieces from "Santa Rosa Rancheria, Lemoore" which might have been made by a member of any lake tribe, and a few tule baskets of miscellaneous provenience.

The following basket types were described by M.G. (see figs. 2, 3). An open conical basket (čoto´t), which might be large or small, was made of triangular tules (pumu´k). A seed

[46] Vide Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts NS29

[P. 46 b] Paleuyami

622 Martha Altau's paternal grandfather, Owo´tono, was chief at the Paleuyami village of Altau. Her father, a Paleuyami, lived at Fort Tejon, then moved up to Tule (Yao´wɨtsani), where M.A. was born. A man named Mo´lpi was chief there. Her mother, Cowi´yɨt, was yo´wekad, "from near Visalia," which I interpreted as Yokud. When M.A. was about fifteen years old they all moved up to the present reservation. M.A.'s information is not, then, strictly Paleuyami, but refers to the mixed culture, which was nevertheless essentially Southern Valley, manifest at Tule, a reservation near the present site of Porterville.

[77] 657

342 The house types she recalls at Tule are those of adobe or boards.

323 Pottery she had seen, but never saw anyone make it. Her mother made only baskets. One 285 woman, named Insi´ɨn (Jennie), a Wakastmina (Waksachi), once brought a piece down to Tule.

BURIAL

764 At death the corpse was washed with cold water and a piece of old deerskin. The hair was washed with soaproot, dried, brushed, and arranged. All the best clothing and ornaments were put on it, and it was laid on deerskins in the center of the house, behind the fireplace, with the head toward the west or northwest (most houses faced south). The corpse was flexed, tied, and wrapped in deerskins at this time, and left in the same place and position. Anyone who wished might visit it and join in the wailing which was carried on all night. After the corpse was removed for burial, the house was burned. In the new house where they went to live, jimsonweed and a plant called golpo´pi[109] were burned to repel the spirit of the deceased.

[767] 838 Meanwhile two men and two "women" (the latter transvestites, tono´čɨm) had dug the grave, using digging sticks and baskets. If, while digging, they came upon another burial, 767 it was necessary that they crush the skull, remove the brains and taste a bit of them, other- 764 wise they would die.

The following morning at dawn, the strongest of the four buriers[110] carried the corpse in a net on his back to the grave. He walked around the grave three times before lowering his burden. Then he addressed the deceased, saying, "You're going where you're going; don't

[109] This plant "smelled strong and had lots of balls on it."

[110] Such a carrier was W.li´hana, whom M.A. recalls.

no door, the doorway being merely an opening between the rafters [there probably was a doorway frame of some sort]. The fire was in front of the center post. Firewood was kept in two piles, one on each side of the entrance; men sitting next to these put wood on the fire.

Men did not indulge in sweats until they were twenty-five to thirty years old. Evening [late afternoon?] was the most popular time for a sweat, after which they would swim and return home to sleep. While in the sweat house men usually "just lay around." Sometimes, merely to entertain others or to practice, a man would dance the ha´t:m (the "piston-rod step" of Powers) if someone would sing for him. For such a performance there was no costume; it had no ritual significance. No games were played in the sweat house, nor was smoking indulged in -- "it was too strong in there."

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Games.---Women played huču´w:s, the walnut-shell dice game, in the daytime only.

Pottery.---Pottery was made at Sototlo by women. The pounding of the clay paste, the coiling process were the only details remembered.

Money.---The small disc money of clamshells was measured by doubling a strand and then slipping it into a series of chain-stitch loops. A "rope" long enough to reach from the wrist to the shoulder, was worth $2.00 in "American money." Such a strand was exchanged for an eagle's leg with the down still intact.

Blankets.---F.M. did not know how "woven" skin blankets were made, save that strips of rabbitskin or wildcatskin were used in them.

Calendar.---A calendrical system of months based on moons was used in the old days. The only name he remembers was that for the month roughly coincident with February: kala´sa, meaning "blows it all away" or "cleaned up," because it was a period of high winds, trees were bare, and the leaves all blown away.

Hair nets.---These were used "everywhere" for the basis of feather head ornaments. A single hairpin (tsama´ni) held the ornament in place. Neither the net nor hairpin was used for ordinary dress, nor by women.

Yellowhammer strips.---Ornamental bands of sewn yellowhammer feathers (paiya´man) were known but rarely used.[130] A doctor who owned one would wear it for the dancing on the night of celebration following a mourning ceremony. It was never used when the doctor was dressed for curing; it was "just to look pretty." The band was worn around the head with the ends hanging down the back.

Musical instruments.---The flute (uṭoi´´i) was made of elderwood; number of holes not

[130] Cf. Kroeber specimen (ibid., pl. 58).

285 the soluble stiffening nothing wet was ever put
482 in it. The apex of the basket was protected with a piece of buckskin sewed on like a patch. Loops to which a tumpline was attached usually hung from the inside about one-third of the way down the sides; sometimes they were on the outside. The burden basket was used primarily for collecting seeds and acorns or other vegetable materials and was kept very clean. Joints of meat, dirty roots, fagots, or pottery clay (wrapped in buckskin) were carried in the carrying net. (The carrying net was primarily a man's possession. They were made by men and sold to women. Women could make them and also were free to use them when available.) A kind of companion piece to the burden basket was the seed-beater (yama´ki). This was a handled scoop of fine openwork twine. When used as a
[222] beater the burden basket was held beneath the beaten plant tops to catch the seeds; another method, preferred when possible, was to keep the burden basket on the back, knock plant heads or seeds into the scoop-shaped beater which was then cast back over the left shoulder so the seeds fell in the burden basket. Another type of collecting basket was a large, oval, very openwork twine scoop (a´pot) for carrying fish; smaller ones of the same construction were used to catch fish in the water. Two baskets used in the preparation of food were the coiled winnowing tray (koyo´to) and the sieve (ta´myuk) which was of fine openwork twining; it was very like the seed-beater but
285 lacked a handle. The cooking basket (pota´na)
415 was invariably of twined weave, coarse and close, and had four horizontal bands of redbud worked in a plain or herringbone pattern. All these baskets were essential. Naturally, more than one, and varieties of size or coarseness, were desired even among these six types. Another basket for food was a large flaring basket (kača´o) of coiled technique in which cooked mush was stored, or other cooked foods; it was also watertight so that water for cooking or washing might be put in it. Small coiled serving baskets (also called kačao) with flat bottoms and flaring sides were used as individual eating baskets for each member of the family.

285 Additional baskets, which every woman might not own, were the coiled basket cap (waki´n:ts) used only under the tumpline, the large, flat, handsomely patterned coiled gambling tray (tai´'iwan), and the shouldered ornamental basket (a´ma) which was used by both sexes for the storing of treasures and cherished as a treasure in itself.

323 Not every woman owned pottery cooking
415 vessels (ki´w:c) but all did who could make or afford them among the Central Foothill tribes. Most housewives wanted two large ones for boiling meat and fish and a few smaller dishes for keeping or serving food. Children were not allowed to eat from pottery dishes.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 806] Wukchumni

757 eyelids or to the rectum when irritated by diarrhea.

278 Ša''apeš roots were used for a sore mouth; they were mashed and held in the mouth. If a baby had a sore mouth, it was attributed to the mother's having eaten yellowjacket larvae (an extension of the meat tabu, because yellowjackets eat meat). To cure the infant, dried yellowjacket larvae were pounded up with ša'apeš and the baby's mouth swabbed out with the mixture.

Pineapple weed (Matricaria suavolens) was made into a tea and drunk for fever or cramps, and was a favorite remedy of old people, said M.P., who showed me the plant but could not give the native name for it.

Taka'ti, a small, sour, round red berry which grows on a low bush, was mashed and eaten uncooked as a purgative.

To'pino, a root, was mashed and clenched between the teeth for severe toothache.

Ka'watopa had a yellow flower (possibly yarrow). Its roots were "strong" and, mashed, were also used for toothache. Tired feet were soaked in a decoction of the boiled roots.

Ta'mːk was cooked and put on the abdomen as a poultice for intestinal pains.

Te·semui'sa (a Chamaenerion ?) looks like a willow leaf, grows in river bottoms. The leaves were chewed for pleasure; they were bitter at first, then turned sweet. To discourage coughing one chewed a leaf and then drank a swallow of water.

Lipːt has a big leaf, is a low bush with white blossoms. Only the roots were used which, when boiled, turned red. The resulting drink was strong, "tastes like pepper." A cupful was drunk three times a day when one "ached all over."

CRAFTS AND MANUFACTURES

Pottery

323 Pottery was made and used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi Yokuts of the Central Foothills. The complete process of manufacture has been previously described.[196] The important points are these. The clay was selected on the basis of the amount of natural sand temper which it carried. First dried and pulverized, it was wetted again and pounded thoroughly while wet to increase its viscosity. Pots were built up by the coiling process which proceeded in a clockwise direction. After thorough drying by sunlight, the pots were heated by the fireside. Firing was done in a pit in which oak bark and oak wood had been burning for several hours and lasted from twenty-four to forty-eight hours. While still hot, the pots were coated inside and out with

[196] Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

323 thin acorn mush to produce a hard, nonabsorbent surface.

Two standardized shapes for cooking purposes -- and Yokuts pots were used for little else -- were a flat-bottomed, conical pot, often with two lugs, and a serving dish with flat bottom and flaring sides.[197] These are roughly comparable in shape to the deep, twined cooking basket and individual food basket. Shapes were not differentiated by name.

[274] Pipes of pottery were made. These are described and illustrated in the sources mentioned.

Tanning

281 Deer, wildcat, cougar, and bear hides were tanned. The first two, with fur removed, were the best skins for breechclouts and aprons. Cougar and bear hides were used as fur bed covers or were folded for seats of important men. My impression is that cougar hide was not much used. The cougar was difficult to approach within range for a deadly arrow shot; it was, within that range, highly dangerous and was feared for its physical as well as supernatural power. Only fine hunters dared kill the animal and, since many expert hunters had Cougar as their supernatural dream helper, they would not kill it.

[462] Men did tanning, although occasionally women finished wildcat skins for their infants or rabbitskins for blankets.

When a woman wanted a wildcat skin with fur on for her baby, she pegged it fur side down on dry ground or sand in a spot where dry air but not direct sunshine would play on it. In winter, direct sunlight would not be too strong. After all the adhering tissue had been scraped off with a dull obsidian scraper, she loosened the pegs so that the delicate skin would not tear as it shrank in drying. It was then left until dry, twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Then deer brains which had been soaked in water were rubbed over the skin; when the skin was quite wet it was taken up and the brains worked into the skin with the hands. This was a softening process, and only a bland solution of brains was used as it was not desired to loosen any of the hair on the reverse side. Again the skin was pegged out loosely and left. After a day or two the skin was taken up, rinsed off in water, and any remaining tissue was picked off. Finally it was wrung lightly with the hands and rubbed until soft. It was then hung on a pole to dry in the shade. Later it was again pulled, rubbed to soften and stretch the skin, and was shaken vigorously to fluff out the fur. "This made a nice little blanket," and was used carefully as

[197] Ibid., pls. 99-102; Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 51.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.949]

276 long time as only two puffs were taken on any one occasion. Some women smoked, usually elderly ones. The favorite time was just be-
[788] fore sleeping. A little ritual of prayerfully puffing smoke toward the west at bedtime was called Ñuhuwa´da. Both sexes did this, just once each night; no words or gestures accompanied the act (J.B.).

The cane cigarette Kroeber attributes to the Yaudanchi;[325] the Wukchumni had to obtain their canes "from a swamp below Porterville" (Yaudanchi or Koyeti territory perhaps). Some man would go down there to get it, then bring it back to sell. The same canes were used for arrowshafts. The cane cigarette was often carried in the hole of the ear lobe.

276 Pottery pipes were made of fired clay, but
323 were clumsy affairs.[326] The shape follows the old pattern of known wooden ones, i.e., it was straight (no elbow) and somewhat flaring. Informants insisted they were aboriginal, as the shape seems to indicate.

The elderwood pipe was disclaimed for the Kaweah River region by all Wukchumni informants.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

C22 Chief.--"Eagle was the first chief; all others were made from that" (M.L.). The name or title (ti´ya) was applied to the acting chief, his wife (or wives), and their children. It was also applied to his brothers and sisters, since they too were the offspring of a chief, but not to their spouses or their children. If, when the chief died, the office passed to a brother, as it often did, that chief's children would then be known as tiya. While they would be called by this term for their lifetime, it would not pass on to their children but to those of the man who became the next chief.

The office passed in paternal descent. Normally a brother succeeded to chieftainship and, at the death of his youngest brother who would be the last chief in that genealogical stratum, it reverted to the eldest (or another) son of the first chief. M.L. was the one informant who thought the office passed from son to son, never laterally to a brother. When nearing death, an old chief named the person to assume his office. The selection had to have the approval of other tiyas in the tribe; whether or not there was a formal ratification, I do not know. But all informants made it clear that an unfit chief -- a vacillating or irresponsible personality -- would not be tolerated. Only M.L. said that the eldest son of the chief succeeded him, regardless of his

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[325] Handbook, 538.

[326] Illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery Making, pl. 102, d, h.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.134b] ChuKAIMINA

846 first three days she steamed herself under blankets. She drank only acorn gruel and hot water for ten days (while on the pit); thereafter she might have solid vegetable foods, but not meat for three months.

The father refrained from meat and solid food ("bread," sic) and from laborious work for ten days.

846 At the end of ten days the mother rose and
553 was washed at a little ceremony called teša´taš ("means not to sleep any more," Mo.). This was done by the infant's paternal grandmother, who also bestowed a name on the baby and brought its second cradle. The name given was always from the father's side: usually a boy received his paternal grandfather's name, a girl a
[864] paternal aunt's. At this time the baby was moved into its second or permanent cradle where it slept until the cradle was outgrown.

846 At the end of three months the mother was given another ceremonial washing by her hus-
[602] band's relatives. The mother-in-law and sisters-in-law washed the woman, arranged her hair, and dressed her in fine new clothes. They brought baskets of food, and the men of the paternal family provided deer meat. A general feast was held at which the mother discontinued her meat tabu. Relatives from both sides of the family were present and partook of the feast; also "any friends who wanted to. Everyone who came brought little presents to the mother."

854 Both cradles were made of twined chaparral brush.[206] The first (bi´ˑč) was small, and had a circular band hood. The baby stayed in it
[177] only ten days. The second (akiˑ´lˑč) was the larger one with the fan-shaped hood of Western Mono derivation which has been described elsewhere (cf. Wukchumni). When it was outgrown,
[856] which was normally in eighteen to twenty-four months, it was hung on a young live oak tree so that the child grew as the tree grew. New
[184] cradles were provided for each new baby. Mo. said that the cradle with forked-stick frame was used only by the people of the lake region.

881 With regard to puberty Mo. stated that she knew of no ritual marking a girl's first menses.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--All people known to Mo. made pottery. Her own mother and aunt made it and taught her. She described the coiling method
[252] and said the ware was fired about two days.[207] Meat was always cooked in pottery vessels.

524 Women's dice game.--A.N. described the women's dice game (hučuˑ´ša). The pieces used

[206] Unidentified; chaparral is a generalized word for underbrush or low growth, not a specific shrub.

[207] For complete process of manufacture, see Wukchumni account herein or a previous publication, Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1489] ChoNiMbi

276 the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[15]

323 Pottery (ki·wiš).---Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiwiš; the clay pipe was šokmai. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe·šin, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

372 Firemaking.---Striking a fire (šike·tal) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu·pun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called še·ktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

526 [181] Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.---The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it [802] counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.---A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

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[15] Ibid.

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [747] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by
184 people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po'om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning [887] to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a'sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo'gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči'na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

[787] The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke'wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good
481 swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta'okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. [209] E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

412 322 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the handle was taken from another uncooked root.

515 Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head, baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was [262 252 171] roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes." [The inference is that some varieties of soaproot were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 322 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 324 Cooking stones were made of soapstone, said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used [412 322] for cooking larvae and worms.[110]

Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

● 323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

411 Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of [237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

436 dollar:[115] The informants were uncertain about
321 the material, merely saying that the beads were made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a string of these beads, which would encircle the
[804] flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard measurement of beads, the circumference of the flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red out-
[323] side. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money
[804] which was measured from the center of the wrist around the edge of the extended hand was worth a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

436 Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter
324 and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. perforation, were "made in a belt" and traded for a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

276 Tobacco.--Old people watched for the tobacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across,

[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none
[487] of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their
439 statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

276 A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about [764] today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

276 N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. ●323 Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its 324 form and appearance: N.W. contended that it was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco ba´'om, the pipe šokut.

276 Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

262 Gum.---Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

842 "Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

847 One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink 278 a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the

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[117] Powers, 389.

[834] 171 [118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.226 a] Western Mono NS25

Pottery

W Y 323 Pottery was well known to the Michahai and Waksachi; in fact, all informants thought that "everybody" had it and that "all women" knew how to make it.[164] B.O. said the Eastern Mono had it also. The earthenware was called ki´wiš (clay) by Michahai and wi´šowa (clay) by Waksachi. There were no special names for dishes of different shapes, all being called merely big or little dish (wu´pi kiwiš, wi´či kiwiš, Michahai; popai´ wišowa, tiči´ti wišowa, Waksachi). All the ware was flat-bottomed and straight-sided, and roughly of three sizes, large bucketlike containers for boiling, medium individual serving dishes comparable to the individual serving baskets, and small somewhat spherical dishes used as cups or scoops. The latter are probably not copies of European cups since no handle nor curvature is ever attempted. B.O. firmly stated that food was never eaten directly from the clay dishes, always from baskets. D. and S.O. could not agree, but admitted that baskets were the customary food dishes. Pottery was prized, and probably no woman would trust the dishes in children's hands. S.O. thought the average family would have about two large cook pots and five smaller ones.

W Y [462] Men never made pottery but, if a man came upon a good clay bed, he might take some home to be made up (S.O.). There was an abundance of good clay at Tušao; women of Čitatu liked to go to Daley's place for theirs.

W Y 323 The clay was tested between the fingers for sand element (the binding), as no extraneous binding, not even free sand, was added. The clay was pounded while damp on rock with a special pestle, and when viscous was ready to make up. The bottom was pressed out between the palms (D. and S.O.), coiled (B.O.), into a disc and the sides built up with additional coils. A little water was kept at hand to add to the clay if it became too dry. The inside and outside were scraped smooth. The raw pots were left in the sun to dry all day, or even longer if necessary: they must be dry all the way through before firing. These informants did not know of any "test" for predicting safe firing (see Wukchumni). Meanwhile wood was burning in a small pit so that it would be thoroughly heated and partially filled with coals. The ware was heated at the fireside before being put directly on the coals. More wood was drawn over the top and the whole left to burn all night. A woman had to rise once or twice during the night to see that all was well. No slip of mush or other material was applied after firing (or at any time) according to these informants (see Wukchumni).

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[164] The pottery-making process and pottery shapes are described and illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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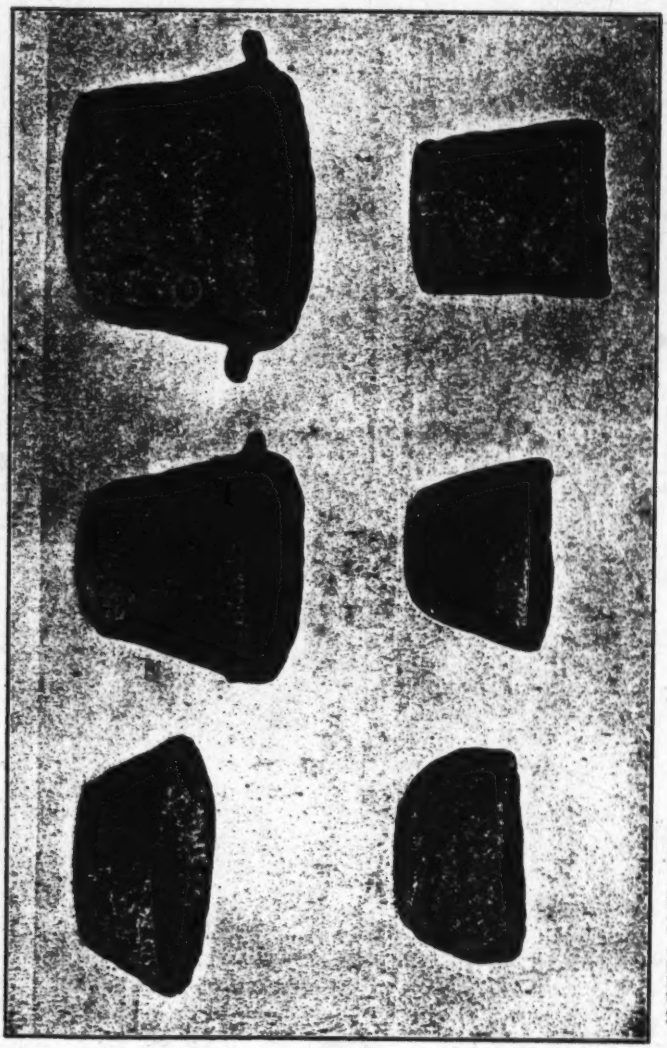

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

BULLETIN 78 PLATE 51

YOKUTS POTTERY

[p. 530(C)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

also. Thus the Nutunutu boy's cradle is said to have the hood fastened only at the sides, the girl's at the top and the base also.

POTTERY.

The Yokuts practice one curious and hitherto undescribed art: that of pottery making. The precise distribution of this industry remains to be ascertained. The southern hill tribes made pots; the adjacent valley tribes appear to have; on the lake tribes there is no information; the Chukchansi and probably other northern tribes did not follow the art. Of adjacent Shoshoneans, the Tübatulabal made pots; some of the western Mono probably did. Outside of these groups there is no record whatever of the industry. It is not connected geographically with the pottery-making area of southern California, which does not come north of the San Bernardino Range, so far as known; and the territorial gap is paralleled by a thorough diversity of the ware.

The distinctive feature of this pottery is its excessive crudeness. It appears to have been made by a rough fitting together of pieces of clay, or a pressing out of a lump: there is no evidence of the coiling and smoothing method. It is doubtful whether the clay contains tempering. Glue, blood, or a sticky substance may have been introduced as binding material. The color is from light to dark gray. There is no slip, wash, or pattern, except now and then a rude incision obviously modeled on a basket pattern. The shapes are indefinitely varied, without approach to standardized forms. A row of the vessels looks as if produced by children or experimenters. (Pl. 51.)

Even the uses are not known. Most of the pots show evidences of employment in the fire. But their purposes must have been special, since the ordinary cooking of the Yokuts is as regularly performed in baskets as among other groups. Small vessels may have been intended for services that we can only suspect. Thus the Yaudanchi affirm that they formerly kept tobacco in hollowed clay balls.

Archaeology gives no information as to the age of the industry. There has been little collecting in the Yokuts area and no systematic exploration. The prehistoric clay cooking balls or sling shots of the stoneless Stockton plains, where the Yokuts Chulamni lived in the historic period, suggest a connection; but no vessels of the same material have ever been found with these. The Clear Lake Pomo sometimes make a minute receptacle by pressing a hole in a lump of clay; but they do not bake these little articles. Evidently there were some anticipations toward pottery making latent in parts of California; and the Yokuts carried these tentative steps

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the [174] pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or east can hardly be avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden 171 pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *katauwish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of

Where the grocery store had once stood at the ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our [illegible] lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many generations his people had visited the place, which they called *Hutudu* (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y W 121 323 Y W 323 Y W 114 323 Y W 323 [462] Y W [438] [437]

METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] E. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353–373, 1928.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

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Y ● W 317 323 ● [412]

In the present instance the clay was obtained from a depression in an oak-covered meadow, which was saturated by seepage and which drained the near-by area. A digging stick was used to open up the ground and loosen it sufficiently for the potter to lift or pull out handfuls of the soil. She worked at a little ledge which permitted her to get at the earth some eighteen inches below the surface. At this level the soil carried a heavy admixture of sand. Proceeding downward the amount of sand grew less, and the potter began testing the viscosity of the soil by squeezing a lump in her hand. Finally, about two feet below the surface, she reached a pure clay with a slight admixture of sand which proved to be of satisfactory quality. The sand that came with the clay acted as tempering material. All informants agreed that binding material was rarely added: it was usually a matter of getting clay without too much sand and removing bits of rock, as in the present case. Occasionally sand was added, but no other tempering material was known.

Y W [237 482]

The potter took out as much clay as she could carry. The amount manufactured six pots and two pipes (pl. 102), and a seventh small pot. In former times the clay was wrapped in an old deer skin and carried home in a carrying net.

323 [412]

Preparation of all clay consisted of kneading and pounding the material. This was done on a broad, flat portion of a bedrock mortar. Clay was never put in mortar holes in which food substances were ground. Before starting the potter selected a short, broad, roughly rectangular pestle for pounding the clay. (Other pestles, and the openings of food mortars, appear in the background of pl. 95*a*; the typical triangular food pestle is seen just beyond the basket in pl. 95*b*). Half the entire quantity of clay was put on the rock and pressed with the hands into a solid lump. The potter sat cross-legged before it, and picking it up and lifting it to shoulder level, beat it down upon the rock. This she continued for about ten minutes, turning the lump in her hands as she worked. The process solidified the mass of clay. The pestle was then taken up and pounded into the clay. This stage of the clay-working is shown in plate 95*a*. The flattened mass of material was continually turned inward at the edges. About ten minutes of pounding brought the clay into a highly viscous condition, so that the heavy substance adhered to the pestle and partly lifted off the mortar rock at the beginning of each upward stroke. The potter occasionally tested the condition of the clay by rolling out between her hands a rope of clay such as the vessels are built from (pl. 95*a*).

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
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After about five minutes more of pounding its consistency was satisfactory. The remaining quantity of clay was left in the sack, water was poured over it, and it was placed in the shade for use two days later.

Coiling Method

Practically all clay utensils were made by the coiling process. The first step in construction of a pot by this method was shaping the bottom. The potter took a small handful of clay and rolled it about in the palms of her hands until it formed a ball in which the clay was distributed in an even consistency. Then with her right hand she

a *b*

Fig. 1. Base of pots showing method of construction, University of California collection. *a*, 1–10885, first stage, 23 mm. height, 106 mm. diam. at rim, 85 mm. diam. at base; *b*, 1–10884, first coil in place but surface not yet smoothed, 23 mm height, 97 mm. diam. at rim, 74 mm. diam. at base.

flattened out the ball on her left palm, making a disc of the desired diameter. Its edge was turned up to a height of about two centimeters, forming a fence or brace within which the first coil of clay was set (fig. 1). The bottom thus formed was set in the center of a circular winnowing basket, which the potter placed on her lap and on which she worked until the pot was entirely built. Plate 95*b* shows the process at this point.

To form the rolls of clay the potter pinched from the supply of clay the amount she judged necessary for a rope that would just fit the circumference on which she was working. The ends of a coil never overlapped but were broken off and squeezed together. The potter whom I watched seemed remarkably adept at this, seldom making a rope that had to be broken off, and very rarely one that was too short.

In converting the lump of clay into a rope, the hands are held in no other position than the vertically parallel one shown in plate 95*a*, *b*. The palms slide back and forth horizontally with the clay between them. The fingers are not used. The pressure on the clay, and the

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

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sensation cues on which judgment of the size and smoothness of the roll is based, seem to come largely from the heavy cushions below the base of the fingers. When the rope of clay emerges and is visible below the hands it is too late to rectify irregularities in its shape.

The first roll of clay was set inside the rim and pinched to it; all subsequent coils rested on the edge of the preceding one. When setting a new coil the potter held one end of the roll in her left hand and pinched it on with that hand while the loose portion rested across her right hand as shown in plate 96*a*. The roll was pinched into a thick, flat-sided ribbon as it was being put in place. While the coil was being added the potter occasionally turned the basket in contra-clockwise direction in order to keep the portion of the pot on which she was working in a convenient position before her. When the coil was in place and the ends welded together the potter dipped her fingers in water and pressed and smoothed out the junction between the new coil and the one on which it rested.

After the sides of the pot were built up about two inches the potter stopped to smooth off more completely its inner and outer surfaces (pl. 96*b*). For this she used a small chip of wood picked up from the ground, or sometimes a section of a large acorn husk. By this time the clay in the pot was sufficiently firm to allow it to be picked up and handled. Slight incrustations and bumps were dampened and scraped down with the chip or rubbed with the fingers. Generally, the scraping and smoothing movements were vertical. The surfaces were gone over in this manner after every two or three inches of coil-building until the pot was completely formed.

When the pot was entirely formed the potter went over the surface with a small polishing stone[1] of steatite (pl. 97*a*). This served two purposes. First, it rubbed out minor irregularities in the surfaces, for though the vessel was firm enough to be handled the clay could be scraped off slightly. But as the pot dried rapidly its surface soon became harder than that of the polishing stone so that the steatite rubbed off in a fine white powder. Secondly, this powder settled into the clay and produced a hard surface which in turn became more effective in rubbing off more dust from the stone. The potter occasionally rubbed the steatite stone on the flat side of a granite pestle and the resulting dust she applied to the pot with her fingers. In this final polishing process the strokes were horizontal or oblique. They

[1] University of California museum specimen 1-27004. There are two similar stones in the Barrett collection, mus. nos. 1-10676, 1-10943.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
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are plainly visible on the pots in plates 101*f* and 102, as are also the white streaks of the steatite dust. These streaks withstand firing but ultimately disappear with use. As a final touch the potter marked the inside of the pot with several vertical stripes of steatite scratches. This, it was said, would keep the pot from cracking during firing. The pot was then left to stand in the sun for the rest of the day, while work commenced on another. The pots had to be absolutely dry before firing or they would crack.

At sun-up the following morning a fire was built in a shallow pit about eighteen inches deep and two feet in diameter. The wood was of any convenient variety but was in long poles which might be shoved

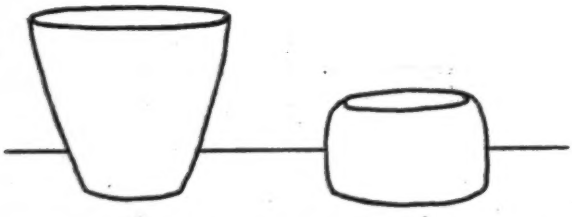

Fig. 2. Western Mono pottery, Sequoia National Park Museum. *a*, found at Camp Patwisha, below Hospital Rock station of Park, 204 mm. height, 230 mm. diam. at rim, 103 diam. at base; *b*, made at Iron Springs, Tulare county, 105 mm. height, 154 mm. diam. inside rim, 178 mm. maximum exterior diam.

into the fire as they burned without greatly changing its temperature. When the fire had burned for about an hour slabs of oak bark were added. In the meantime the pots had been set along the edge of the pit, so that their subjection to heat was gradual (pl. 98*a*). When ready for firing the vessels were moved to the fire with long poles, for they were far too hot to be touched with the hands. They were set in the hot ashes in the center of the pit, and the fire reassembled about them; some coals and ashes were scraped into them from above. A few pieces of oak bark were laid immediately over them (pl. 98*b*).

Vessels for cooking purposes were fired at least twenty-four hours, often up to forty-eight. Pipes, and small bowls which were used as dippers, were fired a shorter time, the former about six hours. Toward the end of the firing the ware was tested by being tapped sharply with a hard stick. This would produce a clear ringing sound if the pottery were sufficiently baked. The vessels made by the Wobonuch woman were fired eight to ten hours, as she knew they were not to be used for

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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b

[p. 244(2)]

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5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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a b

c d

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[P. 244(E)]

Y
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5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

a

b

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[p. 244 (F)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[P. 244(G)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts
Western Mono
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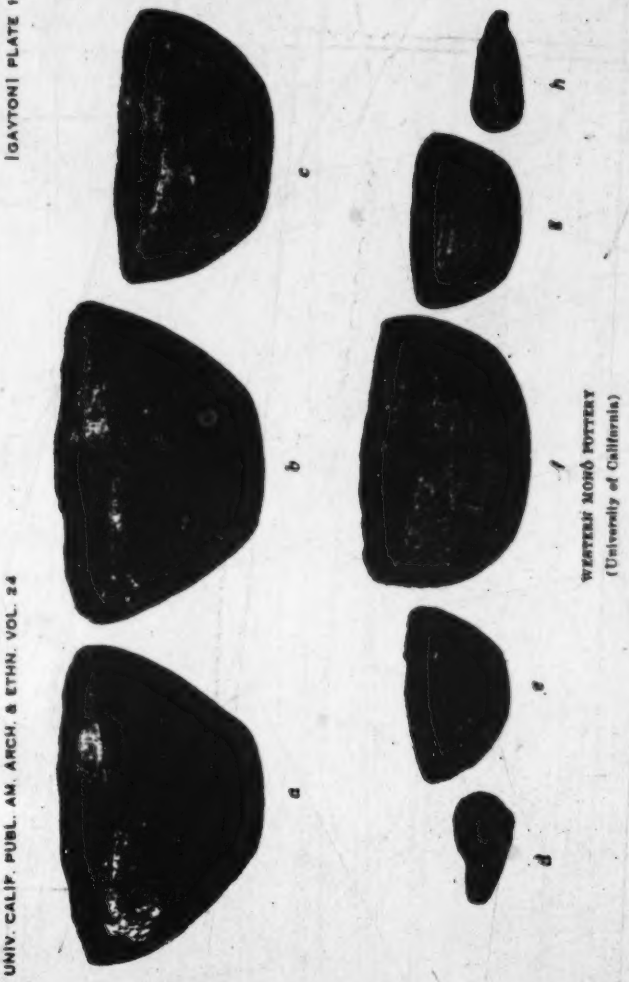

[p. 244(H)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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cooking. Even with this comparatively short firing they give forth a metallic sound when struck with the knuckles. The potter said they would "ring like a bell" if fired the customary length of time.

When the firing was finished the pots were removed from the embers with a pair of long sticks. The pots are often red hot, and are again set along the edge of the fire pit so that the cooling will be gradual.

Among the Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono and Entimbich Yokuts this completed the work and the pots were ready for use. The Patwisha (Balwisha) Western Mono, Wükchumni, and perhaps other neighboring Yokuts groups finished the vessels with a coating of thin acorn mush. Sufficiently fired pots were removed from the fire while at high heat and were immediately painted inside and out with acorn mush applied with a soaproot brush. The mush "sizzled and baked right into the pot." Three or four coatings were given. This process was said to prevent the clay from soaking up liquids, "sweating," and breaking. A similar coating is applied to cooking baskets to make them watertight. The Wükchumni Yokuts called this "doctoring" the pot.[6]

The Patwisha and Wükchumni procedure in pottery-making differed in two other points from that of the Kings River tribes. The first was in the preparation of the clay. It was not used directly after being taken from the ground, but was dried in the sun or near a fire. When thoroughly dried it was put in a large mortar hole (one no longer used for food-grinding) and pulverized with a pestle. The resulting dust was sifted through a twined basket, such as an old seed-beater, and returned to the mortar hole.[7] A small amount of water was poured over the ground clay, and all stirred about to make a heavy paste. If the clay seemed too smooth a little sand was added at this time. The mixture was lifted out onto the surface rock, and pounding and kneading proceeded as above.

The second point of difference was in marking the pot to insure safe firing. Vertical lines were drawn on the outside of the pot, not with the soapstone polisher as among the Wobonuch, but with the

[6] Toi'in na ki'wic nim ki'am si'ci, doctoring I pot my now done.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 58d, illustrates a beater of this type. Opened-twined baskets, made for sifting pulverized materials such as manzanita berry flour, etc., were used in this case. When the Wobonuch made pottery from dried clay, which was only in summer or fall, the finely ground clay was extricated by winnowing, according to Dr. T. T. Waterman, whose photograph of the process is shown in pl. 97b.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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charred end of a stick. Again this was done "to see how the pot was going to burn and to keep it from cracking." No informant could give any interpretation of this rationalization.

Shaping Method

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Small bowls were sometimes shaped from a lump of clay. A large lump was taken up and rolled about in the hands to form a solid ball. The thumbs then were sunk into the center of the ball, and the clay pressed out against the fingers. The cup thus formed was turned about in the hands and pressed into a crudely symmetrical shape. It was scraped and finished as a coiled vessel was. The Wobonuch potter called this a "lazy woman's way." She made one bowl (pl. 102*e*) to demonstrate the method, and coiled the other small one. Large pots were invariably made by the coiled process.

METHOD OF MAKING CLAY PIPES

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To make a pipe the potter took a small lump of clay and worked it about in her hands until it was of an even consistency throughout. She then rolled the clay into a short, thick cylinder and finally worked this into a cone. The very small tip of the cone she broke off. Then holding the cone firmly in her left hand, so that the broad end was encircled by the index finger and thumb, she pressed the index finger of her right hand into the center of the cone to form the tube. The large opening thus made extended about three-fourths of the length of the cone. The edge of the open end was smoothed off. Still holding the pipe in her left hand she thrust a very small straight twig through the remaining solid portion of the cone which formed the mouthpiece. The mouthpiece was pressed around the twig and smoothed down before the twig was pulled out. The pipe was set aside to dry for a while. When so dry that there was no danger of injuring it by handling, it was rubbed down a bit with the soapstone polisher. The two pipes made by the Wobonuch potter were heated by the fire (foreground, pl. 98*b*) and then fired for about six hours.

SHAPES AND USES OF WARE

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Yokuts and Western Mono pottery is of so simple a type that it cannot be regarded as having a style in an artistic sense (pls. 99, 100, 101, 102). The potters seem to have followed a traditional pattern of a ware that was serviceable without deviating into attempts at

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y W 323 [531]

decoration. No slip or painted ornamentation was ever applied. An occasional piece was decorated with a row of thumb-nail scratches around the exterior of the rim; a small bowl in the Barrett collection is decorated with a crude geometric pattern pricked into the clay.[8]

The color of the finished ware is dull red, or murky gray to red if unevenly fired. The color of the ware after it has been in use is dark gray to black: the rough surface absorbs dirt from handling, and pots used as cooking vessels become blackened from smoke. The unfired clay used by the Wobonuch was dark gray but became dull red after the firing process. In notes with his collection Barrett mentions a yellow clay as the most satisfactory variety for pottery. Red clay which occurs in the region was not used for pottery.

Y W 323 415

There seems to have been a standardization of shapes, or at least a tendency toward it. The majority of specimens have flat bottoms and curveless sides which flare slightly. The rims are vertical or even slightly incurved: this may be due to the final pinching and smoothing of the rim clay rather than to the deliberate intention of the potter. Among the thirty-four specimens, on which this description is based, the following deviations from the standard shapes occur: four round-bottomed bowls with curved sides; one flat-bottomed, low, oval bowl; and one flat-bottomed bell-shaped bowl.

The heights of the specimens vary from 23 to 204 mm., and roughly fall into four groups: (*a*) 5 specimens from 23 to 49 mm. high; (*b*) 17, from 64 to 105 mm.; (*c*) 7, from 135 to 156 mm.; and (*d*) 5, from 171 to 204 mm. This agrees rather well with informants' descriptions of three sizes of ware which they describe as (*a*) small bowls used for dippers, (*b*) a medium size used for holding food and soaking basket materials, and (*c*) a large size for cooking which varied with the size of a family (this probably refers to such specimens as those in the last two groups, *c* and *d*). Although the Yokuts and Western Mono distinguished these sizes they were not defined in native nomenclature by specific names. All pottery vessels were called ki'wic (Yokuts) or wina'bi (Western Mono)—literally, clay.[9] Large and small vessels were simply called big or little ki'wic (wina'bi).

[8] Respectively, specimens 1-10890, 1-10892, Museum of Anthropology, University of California.

[9] This is somewhat analogous to our own use of tin, silver, linen, for objects made of these materials, though we have specific designations as well.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono US25

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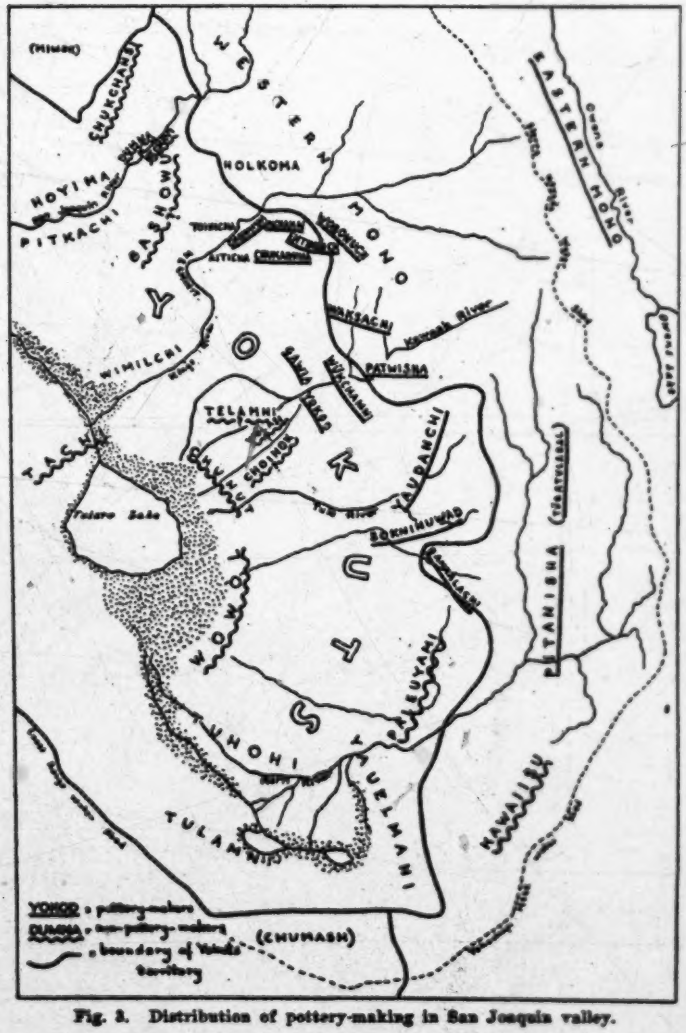

Fig. 3. Distribution of pottery-making in San Joaquin valley.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY-MAKING IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Y 171 323 184

The names of those tribes which are definitely known to make or not to make pottery are underscored in figure 3. There are certain doubtful cases. First the Gashowu: the Kechayi informant for the Gashowu and Kechayi groups, between whom close social and economic intercourse prevailed, stated that she had never seen any people make pottery; that an old man at Auberry, Fresno county (Gashowu territory), had a piece; that he had told her what it was and that people used it (pottery) long ago. The Kechayi were not pottery-makers. Had the Gashowu been pottery-makers the Kechayi would at least have known that they practiced the art even though they did not do so themselves. It is possible that the Gashowu man had obtained his piece by trade. The other uncertain cases are Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok. Tachi and Chunut informants agree that no people about Tulare lake had made or even seen pottery in old times. The Chunut informant was familiar with the customs of the three immediate neighboring tribes to the east; she insisted that they had no pottery. The only reason to doubt her statement is the proximity of these tribes to the pottery-makers of the foothills with whom some trade was carried on.

Y 823 757 323

The Chunut considered red clay a "good medicine." A ball of it was kept in the house; and a bit was scraped from it with the fingernail and rubbed on the chest to cure a cough. Sometimes people "shaped out little dishes with their fingers[10] but these weren't good for anything." The informant's reaction to a demonstration of the hand movements made in rolling clay (as in the foothills) was to describe the method of fire-making.

Y 172

Though potsherds occur sporadically in the floor of the valley, they are regarded by Gifford and Schenck as late intrusions.[11] These sherds are related stylistically to southern Californian ware rather than to that of the Yokuts.

Y W 171

Of the pottery-making of other tribes in the San Joaquin valley we know nothing at the present time. Mr. Theodore McCown reports that the Kawaiisu did not make pottery in ancient times, and have

[10] As the Pomo are reported to have done, Kroeber, Handbook, 537.

[11] Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, this series, 23:55–56, 1926.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Museum numbers, provenience, and dimensions of specimens illustrated.

Y
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Plate 95.—*a*, Wobonuch potter testing clay after preparatory pounding; *b*, same rolling first rope to set in base of pot.

Plate 96.—*a*, method of building pot from clay rope; *b*, potter smoothing coils with chip of wood.

Plate 97.—*a*, finishing surface with steatite polishing stone; *b*, Wobonuch method of separating fine and coarse particles of pulverized dry clay.

Plate 98.—*a*, dried pots heating before firing; *b*, two pots undergoing firing, two pipes in foreground being heated.

Plate 99.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Small bowls: *a*, 71196, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 76 mm. height, 114 mm. diam.; *b*, 71197, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 76 mm. height, 111 mm. diam.; medium-sized receptacles: *c*, 71242, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 89 mm. height, 152 mm. diam. at opening; *d*, 70319, Mono, José Basin, Fresno county, 96 mm. height, 157 mm. diam. at opening.

Plate 100.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Cook pot: *a*, 70616, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 203 mm. height, 203–213 mm. diam. from ear to ear. Atypically shaped receptacle: *b*, 71195, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 152 mm. height, 162 mm. diam.

Plate 101.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Medium-sized receptacles: *a*, 70843, Yokuts, Dunlap, Fresno county, 82 mm. height, 133–139 mm. diam.; *b*, 70856, Yokuts, Little Sandy, Fresno county, 89 mm. height, 236 mm. diam. at opening. Cooking receptacles: *c*, 70619, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 190 mm. height, 139–153 mm. diam.; *d*, 70618, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 156 mm. height, 223 mm. diam.; *e*, 71217, Mono, Cold Springs, Fresno county, 171 mm. height, 152 mm. diam.; *f* (Univ. Calif. collection, Wobonuch Western Mono specimen), 1–27009, 137 mm. height, 230–249 mm. diam. at rim, 146 mm. diam. at base.

Plate 102.—Western Mono pottery, University of California. Medium-sized receptacles, small bowls, and pipes: *a*, 1–27011, 92 mm. height, 161 mm. diam. at rim, 75 mm. diam. at base; *b*, 1–27010, 95 mm. height, 184 mm. diam. at rim, 78 mm. diam. at base; *c*, 1–27013, 70 mm. height, 151 mm. diam. at rim, 83 mm. diam. at base; *d*, pipe now in Göteborg Museum, Sweden; *e*, 1–27016, 44 mm. height, 96 mm. diam. at rim, 35–39 mm. diam. at base; *f*, 1–27014, 65 mm. height, 139 mm. diam. at rim, 85 mm. diam. at base; *g*, 1–27015, 49 mm. height, 84 mm. diam., 44 mm. diam. at base; *h*, 1–27018, 86 mm. length, 24 mm. diam. at rim of bowl.

[p. 252-255 not processed]